1: Karsten--235-236 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 861, 562, 867 (1928-29)

"During the first years of life boys and girls receive much the same education, but after a time a differentiation takes place. The girls begin to accompany their mothers and are instructed by them in woman's work and occupations which they learn by imitating them. When the girl is 5 to 7 years old her mother pierces her nether lip with a thorn, inserting into the hole first a blade of grass, so as to prevent the wound from closing, and after that a small wooden pin. The hole in the lip is thus gradually widened so that when the girl reaches mature age the lip-tube tukúnu, can be worn, as by all Jibaro women. Whereas the pier-[236] cing of the nether lip takes place before puberty, the lip-tube itself is worn only by full-grown women and is a sign that the girl is marriageable."

2: Stirling--111-112 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 857, 867

"Young children are very seldom disciplined, in spite of which, like most primitive children, they are very wellbehaved. The children, especially young boys, have almost complete liberty to do as they please. As they grow up the girls stay with the women and learn the various household duties which it is necessary for them to practice in earnest after they are married. Inasmuch as many girls[112] marry at 8 or 10 years of age they have very few years of childhood. Small boys play at hunting and fishing and accompany the men on their hunts at an early age. They are even brought on war expeditions by their fathers when as young as 7 and 8 years of age, for the purpose of becoming accustomed to fighting as soon as possible. The daily instructions a boy receives in warfare and in inculcating the idea of blood revenge in his mind has been described under the section dealing with warfare.(27)"

"27. See p. 41."

12: Rivet--605-606 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 867

From a very early age the young Jíbaro boy is conscious of the superiority attached to his sex and, barely grown, he treats her [606] who gave him life with the same scorn that his father does; besides, at the death of his father, he inherits all of his father's authority regarding his mother. He never marries before he is 17 or 18 years old; all during his childhood and adolescence he has an absolutelyindependent existence and receives a purely physical education; he learns from his father the hate for enemies, the taste for vengeance, and the desire for special glory that pleases his people. Missionaries relate that when a warrior has captured children during an expedition, he brings them back alive to have them killed by his own sons, thus to take away their fear of spilled blood and pain. (1)

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1. Collecion de cartas sobre las misiones dominicanas, op. cit., 5th map, page 48.

20: Dyott--157-158
116, 627, 867, 181

(no date) 1926

Jivaro

"It was no longer plans for the morning that were being discussed: Kuashu was relating a rather long-winded story about a brother of his who had been foully murdered some years previously. He was telling his sons that the day would come when they would have to avenge the outrage.

It seemed that this uncle had beaten one of his wives to death because she was unfaithful to him, and the woman's family, considering the treatment unnecessarily harsh, had murdered the husband in retaliation. Custom said that Kuashu's family must also take a life in order to satisfy the Jivaro sense of justice. With this end in view, the spirit of revenge was being kept alive, and almost every day the young men of the household were reminded of the duty which they inherited, and how they would eventually have to kill some member of the family who were responsible for their uncle's murder. The boys listened to the tale, which had already been told them hundreds of times, with as much interest as if they had never heard it before, and I wondered how long it would be ere their hands were stained with blood. They saw nothing wrong in this lust for vengeance, for their creed taught them that the spirit [158] of their uncle could not rest till justice had been meted out. Furthermore, if they failed to take reprisals they and their families would be the ones to suffer."

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

told, in addition, that they must wash their hands before preparing beer or else the product will not be satisfactory. It is believed that if children are not taught to bathe at an early age, they will be afraid of cold water and their parents will find it necessary to drag them to the stream. Getting the child used to bathing is also seen as connected with teaching it, in the process, to swim well, a skill which is considered essential to survival because of the frequent necessity of crossing streams and rivers which are often dangerously swollen and rapid.

Children tend to be discouraged from playing, since it is felt that such behavior leads to a disinclination to work. Jesting or joking by children is similarly frowned upon, because it is believed to lead to lying in adult life. Nonetheless, children do often try to play until halted by their parents, who are likely to stop them more rapidly if children of both sexes are playing together. If a particular older child, who is visiting, has a reputation for playing and jesting, parents may tell their own offspring not to play with the visitor.

At this point, it seems appropriate to point out that one of the more significant features of Jívaro socialization may be the relative isolation of children from peers outside their own polygynous nuclear family, due to the extreme dispersion of households in the forest. This isolation seems likely to be conducive to a sense of alienation from the rest of the tribe, particularly when coupled with the traditional early morning lectures which fathers give to "make them be careful" in dealing with others beyond the household and which emphasize the deceitful and treacherous characteristics of other tribesmen. Adding to the child's sense of insecurity vis-à-vis the rest of the population is the frequent attribution of illness within the household to the bewitching activities of hostile shamans. Finally, the dispersion of the population in

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small households over a large area results in a very poor communication system in which fourth- or fifth-hand information usually arrives garbled and exaggerated through repetition, the erroneous rumors giving rise to misunderstanding, suspicion, and hostility.

Children frequently steal portions of cooked meat from one another and wrestle over them, which reflects the fact that meat is not always abundant in the household, depending on the father's hunting success and his immediate commitment to some other task, such as clearing trees. There is also a reluctance to give a small child more than a single piece of meat, for it is believed that varying the portion may cause it to cry when it doesn't get as much as it did on a previous occasion.

While stealing and wrestling over meat is disapproved of and, if repeated, may be punished by the father by spanking with a nettle, wrestling for its own sake between boys is approved and encouraged, although the father may advise them not to hurt one another. Sometimes nettle spanking may be used to stop children from playing, or the father may find it sufficient simply to threaten to bring a nettle. A child who regularly grabs things that he might damage, such as pottery bowls, may have his hand beaten with a nettle. In general, however, there is little in the Jívaro house that a child can damage, since pottery not in use is stored on high bamboo shelves, and personal effects are suspended in baskets out of their reach. As a result, discipline with regard to safeguarding property is not emphasized.

If a child is extraordinarily bad, and, despite nettle spanking, continues breaking pottery vessels, taking meat without asking permission, and stealing peanuts from storage baskets above the rafters, the parents may undertake the harshest punishment they ever use on children. This consists of drop-

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578 you are mistaken. You are really my branch 'brother' (*kaná yači*), not my true 'brother,' and since this enemy of yours is really my true 'brother-in-law' (*nekás sai*) it would not be right."

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628 Although often a source of frustration and confusion, this manipulation of defined degree of relationship can serve to save a man's life. When he visits a strange house, the host may subject him to an interrogation regarding the names of his relatives and their degree of relationship to the visitor, pretending a purely friendly interest in the subject. Usually, however, the host really wants to determine whether his visitor is a close relative of any of his enemies. In answering his interrogator, the visitor carefully puts into the "branch" category as many of his relatives as possible, particularly those whom he thinks may be enemies of the host. At the same time, he promotes to the "true" category those of his relatives whom he knows are friendly to the interrogator or the interrogator's relatives. A good memory of kin relationships of both enemies and friends is, of course, essential to this sometimes adroit manipulation of the "true–branch" definitions.

Failure to manipulate kin classification successfully can result in the visitor's food or beer being poisoned or in his being ambushed by the host after he leaves the house. It is not surprising, therefore, that fathers often spend an hour or more before dawn lecturing their sons on the degree of relationship between a variety of enemies and friends in their own and other neighborhoods. Such lectures also include advice on how to avoid dangerous entanglements, how to

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FIGURE 2 (*facing page*)
Kinship Chart. Elementary terms of reference (male speaking)

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get along well with kinsmen, and how to survive in general, as illustrated by this excerpt from such a morning monologue:

Listen, son, when you grow up, do not enter the house of Ampuša, who is my enemy. When I die, when my daughter is grown, she can marry whom she wants. If her husband is from a distant neighborhood, don't go to visit her. Afterwards, when you have married and I am dead, if you have a daughter, I know that one day the son of my enemy will make peace with you. But don't give him your daughter, or he will kill you. When I die, you have to give your sister to your true [*nekás*] *sai*. Thus you will live in peace and there will be no fighting or anything. If you give her to another man, then when you drink beer and get drunk, that man, although he is married to your sister, can speak to my enemy to plot your death. Thus are they accustomed to kill.

Then when your daughter is married, never speak harshly to your *awe* [son-in-law] or get mad at him or he will leave your daughter and become your enemy. When one never gets angry with his *awe*, and lives peacefully, the *awe* divides his game, and also his chickens and pigs, with you. Sometimes, when we get old, we cannot build a house. But if we have an *awe*, he will help build it.

Never beat your wife or get drunk. If some other man sees this happen and talks about it, it will be a shame. If you live well and give your daughter to an *awe*, then the father or brother of this *awe* may come to visit in order to see how you live. If you don't live well together, then the father of this *awe* will say, "This man is bad."

Also you must tell your daughter, "Obey your husband, supply good food, and do not commit adultery with other men. Otherwise he will surely beat you. And if the family of your husband comes to visit, you have to get up immediately and serve beer and food to the guests. If you don't, then they and many other people will say that you don't get up, even though your husband asks you to do so, and this is bad."

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When you are living well, thus, with all your *sai* and *yači*, if someone comes and kills your *sai*, you have to avenge him. First of all, you have to bathe in the sacred waterfall, see *arutam*, and then you can kill. If you have not encountered *arutam*, you must not go kill, because you will die. When they kill someone in your family first, then you have to go and kill one of them. You can win by explaining that they killed first and that you are simply avenging his death. In this way, you can win. Also send the message, "If you kill me, my family will kill you." Then they also will say, "Yes, it is true. We cannot continue living and fighting. Let us calm down a bit. Since we are the same people, let us live peacefully. I want to stay in my house. I want to eat well." When they speak thusly, the feuding will end.

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Learn to work. Let us work together. Since we have lots of beer, let us work together. Then when I die, you will know how to work. When we kill a pig, let us eat well, because when we die, it is all finished. So let us work well and eat well while we live. When we work, we work until midafternoon. When you are young, you want to work all day. But I tell you, "Enough, enough. It is very late. We have to return to the house and you have to bathe. Then let us eat well."

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When I die, how is it going to be with you? Sometimes when another man drinks beer, he gets angry. But this is bad. You must not do this. When you are drinking, take a nap and then you can get up and drink some more. Dance. Never speak harshly, because some men thus start fighting with their *yači*. Don't do this or otherwise when you travel elsewhere the people will know and speak to one another about it. So don't do this, because then this will be a great shame.

Visiting and Parties

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Young single men spend a great deal of a time visiting other households where unmarried female cross-cousins